Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CLXIX.

OCTOBER, 1855.

ART. I. — *Westward Ho! The Voyages and Adventures of Sir Amyas Leigh, Knight, of Burrough, in the County of Devon, in the Reign of her Most Glorious Majesty, Queen Elizabeth.* Rendered into Modern English by CHARLES KINGSLEY. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1855.

IT is the merest commonplace to say that the Reverend Charles Kingsley is, in many respects, a remarkable man. Of aristocratic connections, he is thoroughly democratic in his tendencies and opinions. A clergyman of the Church of England, he maintains a liberal creed. Conservative by education, he is a radical reformer. As a writer, he is well known to be an indefatigable worker, expressing his thoughts in pure and Saxon diction, with a compact and forcible style, and exhibiting a wonderfully versatile genius. Four or five works of fiction, a volume of sermons, and a book of poems, already before the public, bear witness at once to his ability and his industry. Besides these, several papers in leading English reviews, of a rare historical and scientific value, are attributed to his prolific pen. Each of these productions has a character different from all the others, unless we except the first two works which gave their author an American, as well as an English, reputation. "Alton Locke" and "Yeast" are attempts to present the social problems of English life.

"Hypatia" reproduces the scenes of the struggle between the outgoing Heathenism and the incoming Christianity of the fifth century. "Westward Ho!" gives a lively picture of those remarkable events in the reign of Elizabeth, which were the germ of the future maritime supremacy of Great Britain. The "Village Sermons" are plain, simple, practical discourses, with a fresh and healthy tone, not infrequently exhibiting the characteristics of free and bold thought. The "Poems" bear evident tokens, that their reverend author is no less at home in the higher walks of imaginative literature than on the lower plane of prose.

The work now before us we regard as the best of the author's performances, in the line of fictitious literature; for while objections may be brought against his other compositions, on the score of a too denunciatory spirit, and perhaps of historical inaccuracy, "Westward Ho!" is deserving of the highest commendation for the vigor of its delineations of character, the vivacity of its narrative and description, and the general correctness of its historical statements. It is evidently the result of a careful and thorough study of the times which it attempts to portray. It is a difficult matter, we are aware, to bring upon the stage of fiction personages who have really lived in history, and about whose proper position there has been much discussion, and still to preserve the peculiarities of each so as to present them truthfully to the reader. Yet Mr. Kingsley has completely succeeded in this respect, and if the sober truth about them is sometimes too highly colored, the men themselves appear before us scarcely different from what they really were. Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, the lion-hearted Richard Grenville, look out upon us from the pages of the book, as they must have seemed to their contemporaries, and we feel as though we were reading a chronicle of real occurrences, rather than a fictitious story.

A brief examination of the work itself shall serve us for a preface to a consideration of the character of the period and the events which have contributed so essentially to make up the sum of subsequent history.

Amyas Leigh is the name adopted for a gentleman adventurer of North Devonshire, who takes a prominent part in

the scenes of that eventful age, during which the exploits of British seamen made England famous in the history of maritime discovery and maritime warfare. In his boyhood he barely escapes participation in the lamentable expedition of John Oxenham. He afterwards accompanies Drake in his famous voyage through the Straits of Magellan, into the South Sea, and, by way of California, the Molucca Islands, and the Cape of Good Hope, to England, thus completing the circumnavigation of the globe. He is with Winter, Raleigh, and Lord Grey de Wilton, at the capitulation of Smerwick, when the hopes of the unfortunate Desmond were extinguished, and his rebellion was effectually quelled. He accompanies Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his last voyage to Newfoundland, and is one of the witnesses of his heroic death. He even ventures upon an expedition in search of the El Dorado which filled the dreams of the prominent men of the time. Returning, he engages in the conflict with the Spanish Armada in the English Channel. Pursuing an enemy's vessel round the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, he is struck blind by lightning in the same tempest which drives the ship of his foe upon the rocks of Lundy Isle. It will be seen that a rich field is laid open for the imagination of the writer, and he has peopled it with creations of surpassing power. Mrs. Leigh, the mother of the hero, is a fine specimen of a truly Christian woman. Francis, his brother, is a generous and chivalrous youth, whose untimely death, at the hands of the Inquisition in South America, fills us with grief. Salvation Yeo, one of Oxenham's sailors, who managed to escape from Spanish captivity after years of suffering, and subsequently became the servant and friend of Leigh in his adventurous career, is a grand portraiture of the stern religious fanatic of the day, whose creed was that God had sent him into the world to kill Spaniards for the glory of his truth. Rose Salterne, the daughter of the Mayor of Bideford, with whom all the young men of North Devon are in love, but who marries a Spaniard whom Amyas had sent, a prisoner of war, from Ireland, goes to La Guayra with him, and is at last burnt with Frank Leigh at Carthagena, is a good sample of a village beauty, and somewhat of a coquette. Ayaca-

nora, a natural daughter of Oxenham, who is found in the woods of South America by Amyas, and is brought home by him on his return, exhibits the transition from heathen savagism to Christian civilization, and is one of the best delineated characters of the book. These persons, with a number of young country squires, a hedge parson, a female fortune-teller, a Jesuit or two, a few Spanish gentlemen, and the distinguished men whom we have already mentioned, are the principal actors whose movements give life and animation to the scenes described. With such excellent materials as the adventurous character of the period afforded, Mr. Kingsley has given us a book of absorbing interest.

The reign of Elizabeth, famous in the annals of literature and in political history, was no less famous for its maritime and commercial adventures. Before this time, indeed, England and her monarchs had not been slow to take advantage of the opportunities which offered themselves for discovery and trade. Henry VII. had accepted the services of Columbus, proffered through his brother Bartholomew, four years before they were engaged by Ferdinand and Isabella; and had not the ambassador been unfortunately taken and held in durance while on his journey home, England would doubtless have had the honor of the discovery of the New World. As it was, the Cabots may well be called the discoverers of North America, John and his son Sebastian having been at Newfoundland, "to which they gave the name of Prima Vista," as early as 1494. Henry VIII. was not blind to the naval interests of his kingdom, and early sent out his subjects upon known and unknown seas. His vessels went up the Mediterranean to Candia and Chio in 1534. Master William Hawkins, "a man for his wisdom, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes, much esteemed and beloved of" his sovereign, made three voyages to Brazil in the years 1530, 1531, and 1532. Hawkins evidently was a man of great skill and sagacity. He gained the confidence of the savages to so great an extent, as to receive from them, on his second voyage, one of their chiefs, whom he carried to England. Martin Cockerane (to whom Mr. Kingsley introduces us on the quay at Plymouth) was left as a hostage. On the return voyage,

however, the chief died. Yet so deeply convinced were the natives of Hawkins's integrity, that the hostage was readily given up, and the enterprising sailor returned safely home, with a rich cargo of Brazilian merchandise. Encouraged by this success, other voyages to that portion of South America were made during the latter part of Henry's reign, and a profitable trade was carried on. Edward VI., though the internal affairs of his kingdom were unsettled, had still in mind projects of discovery. The Newfoundland fisheries were prosecuted with considerable success. An act of Parliament, passed in the year 1548, protected the merchants engaged in that business from extortionate demands made upon them by officers of the crown, by which "it appeareth that the trade out of England to Newfoundland was common and frequented, and it is much to be marveiled, that, by the negligence of our men, the countrey in all this time hath bene no better searched." The reason may have been, that the attention of mercantile men was directed eastward rather than westward, and attempts were making to reach the islands of the South Seas, for the purposes of a more gainful traffic. During this reign the company of "Merchant Adventurers for the Discovery of New Lands" was formed, with Sebastian Cabot, now an old man, and an oracle in all matters of navigation, at its head. Under the auspices of this company, Sir Hugh Willoughby's expedition was undertaken for the discovery of the northeast passage to India. The fleet was separated by a storm, Willoughby with his company perishing on the coast of Lapland, while his lieutenant, Richard Challoner (or Chancelor), continuing his course, entered the White Sea, and, wintering at Archangel, travelled overland to Moscow, had an interview with the Czar, Ivan Vasilovich, and afterwards returned to England with his vessel in safety. Thus, notwithstanding the failure of the expedition in its immediate object, the Russian trade was secured by the English merchants. Mary's reign, though not so favorable for commerce as the preceding period, was yet noted for a further extension of the English marine service. While the queen's marriage with Philip of Spain prevented any English interference with the valuable commerce in

which the Spaniards were engaged with their new conquests in the West Indies, yet the intercourse between the two nations afforded considerable information to the English mariners, who took abundant occasion to avail themselves of it afterwards. Both mercantile and diplomatic intercourse with Russia was continued to the great benefit of English traders, and a valuable trade with Guinea, Morocco, and the northwestern coast of Africa, was opened to English enterprise.

But it was in the reign of Elizabeth that the nation made the greatest progress in maritime affairs. That sagacious sovereign, who, whatever her faults, must be admitted to have been an active ruler for the promotion of her kingdom's interests, clearly saw that England, to be powerful, must make herself felt upon the sea. The insular position of the country precluded conquest by land. The ocean offered a way for the industry and daring of the people to go abroad. England must be, if a power at all, a naval and a commercial power. Elizabeth early gave herself to the task of accomplishing this object. True, she was economical, perhaps parsimonious, in her expenditures. But a plea may be found for this course in the scantiness of her means. What she could do, she did, with her accustomed vigor. One of her panegyrists declares, that "she neglected nothing that might keep up and promote a maritime spirit among her people; she sought out and distinguished the sea-officers that had served under her father; she was continually fitting out, on one pretence or other, little squadrons, at a small expense; she gave the command of them to different officers, that she might excite a spirit of emulation; but what principally conduced to aggrandize her power was the pleasure she showed, whenever any occasion offered, of rewarding her subjects, who undertook, at their own expense, such expeditions as coutributed to extend their commerce and open new branches of trade."

As was to be expected, English commerce was widely extended, and new and profitable branches of trade were opened in all directions. The flag of Elizabeth was fanned by tropical breezes, and rent by polar storms. The coast of Africa, the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, the island harbors of East Indian oceans, Newfoundland and California, even In-

dia and the confines of China, were reached by English travellers. While Frobisher and Davis were searching for the northwest passage to Cathay, with their small vessels, among the ice of the Arctic seas, Drake and Cavendish, with scarcely larger barks, were sailing through the untraversed oceans of more genial, though hardly less dangerous climes. English merchants, "being desirous to see the countreys of the East India," were to be found along the Barbary coast, in Turkey, in Syria, on the banks of the Ganges, in Pegu, Malacca, Cochin China, and on all that shore; while, to crown the whole, Anthony Jenkinson made the tour of Muscovy, Tartary, Siberia, Bucharia, and Persia, and even penetrated by land to the Arctic coast, where Willoughby had met with his sad fate.

In diplomacy, as in commerce, the English queen was entirely successful. The emperor of Morocco received her ambassador with favor, and gave his "princely commandment," on the 20th of March, 1587, that "which way soever they [the English merchants] shall travaile, no man shall take them captives in these our kingdomes, ports, and places, which belong unto us, which also may protect and defend them by our authoritie from any molestation whatsoever, and that no man shall hinder them by laying violent hands upon them, and shall not give occasion that they may be grieved in any sort, by the favor and assistance of God." The Grand Seignior also turned a friendly ear to the English envoy, and gave commandment, June 1, 1584, that "the Englishmen should pass in peace, without any disturbance or let, by any meanes, upon the way," to and from his dominions, along the shores of his African provinces. He was disposed to view with kindness the enterprise of the English merchants, and gave them abundant help in various ways. Even on the mediation, between himself and the king of Poland, of Elizabeth's ambassador, he granted a willing peace. "For your Majestie's sake," writes his secretary in 1590, if the record is authentic, "his Imperiall Highnesse hath exhibited this so singular a favour unto the said king and kingdome of Poland." We likewise find in Hakluyt "a letter, written by the most high and mighty Empresse, the wife of the grand Signior Sultan Mu-

rad Khan, to the Queene's Majesty of England, in the yeere of our Lord 1594," in which the Sultana declares, that she "will always be a sollicitor to the most mighty Emperour for your Majestie's affaires, that your Majesty may at all times be fully satisfied." Elizabeth also wrote letters to the sultan of Cambay and the emperor of China, which, we trust, if those powerful personages ever received them, were for the exceeding benefit of her subjects in those parts. "Everywhere," says Mr. Kingsley, while relating an interview between Amyas Leigh's captive Spaniard, Don Guzman de Soto, and the merchants of Bideford, — "Everywhere, English commerce, under the genial sunshine of Elizabeth's wise rule, was spreading and taking root; and as Don Guzman talked with his new friends, he soon saw that they belonged to a race which must be exterminated, if Spain intended to become (as she did intend) the mistress of the world; and that it was not enough for Spain to have seized, in the Pope's name, the whole New World, and claimed the exclusive right to sail the seas of America; not enough to have crushed the Hollanders; not enough to have degraded the Venetians into her bankers and the Genoese into her mercenaries; not enough to have incorporated into herself, with the kingdom of Portugal, the whole East Indian trade of Portugal, — while these fierce islanders remained to assert, with cunning policy and text of Scripture, and, if they failed, with sharp shot and cold steel, free seas and free trade for all the nations upon the earth."

There was one branch of traffic, however, for which both England and America have been long and sorely punished. It was a sin which afterwards, as our author very properly declares, became "a national curse for generations yet unborn." We allude to the slave-trade. It was in the month of October, 1562, that Master John Hawkins put off with three small vessels, the largest measuring but one hundred and twenty tons, and one hundred men, for the coast of Guinea. Here he "got into his possession, partly by the sworde, partly by other meanes, to the number of three hundred negros at least, besides other merchandise." With this cargo of stolen men, he proceeded to Hispaniola, and there

sold the whole number, "for which he received by way of exchange such quantitie of merchandise" as not only to load his own ships, but two others, which he procured for the purpose. "And so, with prosperous successe and much gaine to himself" and his companions, he went home, arriving in the month of September, 1563. So profitable was this traffic that Hawkins fitted out a second expedition, and sailed, with three larger ships (one of which was strangely named, for such a voyage, the Jesus) and one hundred and seventy men, October 18, 1564. Arriving upon the Guinea coast, the ships were filled with negroes, not however without severe battles, in which several Englishmen were killed. Reaching, without danger or loss, the West India Islands and the South American coast, he managed — sometimes by forcing, sometimes by persuading, the Spaniards to trade with him — to dispose of his living freight, and returned to England, September, 1565, greatly enriched in gold, silver, and precious stones, but with the loss of twenty men from his crew. In this voyage Hawkins coasted the shores of Florida, and landed at several places in the province. A third voyage, undertaken in 1567, was not quite so successful as the other two. The chronicler calls it a troublesome voyage. A fleet of six vessels sailed in October. The ships were separated and injured by storms; the negroes were disposed to make fight, with serious loss to the adventurers; the Spaniards would not trade, except in secret, or by force, the king of Spain having forbidden any such traffic; the Spanish fleet drove them out of San Juan de Ulloa; most of the vessels were abandoned, a large number of the men were set on shore on the Mexican coast, and the Admiral himself narrowly escaped on board the Minion. On the voyage home, the crew suffered greatly from scarcity of provisions, and from sickness, in many instances fatal. England was not reached till the 25th of January, 1569. For these voyages and the returns which they brought to the kingdom, Hawkins was knighted, and received as a crest to his coat of arms, "a demi-Moor, in his proper color, bound with a cord." It is gratifying to know that the public sentiment in regard to this inhuman traffic has so changed, among Englishmen and their descendants, that what was then given as a

token of honor, can now be looked upon only as a memorial of disgrace. Those who may desire to trace out the line of retribution in this world, may find an instance of its certainty in the case of this family. Sir John suffered a miserable death from disease brought on by chagrin at the failure of an enterprise undertaken in the West Indies. He, with Drake, died on a predatory voyage to the Spanish Main, in the years 1595, 1596, which resulted in the loss of several of their ships, and the discomfiture of their fleet by the Spaniards. His son, Sir Richard Hawkins, was taken by the enemy in 1593, with his ship, the Dainty, after a running fight of three days; experienced the horrors of a Spanish prison; and afterwards, when a Privy Councillor, suddenly died, the last of his race, "some say, at the very Council table, leaving behind him naught but broken fortunes and huge purposes which never were fulfilled." Lady Hawkins is truly represented by Kingsley as an excellent and godly woman, bowed down by the remembrance of her husband's sins and her son's misfortunes. She it was who christened Richard's ship the Repentance, but Elizabeth renamed her the Dainty, as of better omen. But her altered name did not avert her doom.

In many instances, indeed as a general rule, the expeditions of this period were of a peaceful character. The merchants could better carry on their trade by preserving amicable relations with the nations on their route. Master Edward Fenton's instructions in his attempted voyage towards China, in 1582, were to "take nothing without justly paying for it," — to "deal like good and honest merchants," — to traffic "with all courtesie, as well with Ethniks as with others, in order to procure their friendship rather than mislike." The English traders were generally known as men of probity and kindness. Yet upon occasion they could fight as well and as bravely as practised veterans, and it behoved them oftentimes to be on their guard. The time was not altogether one of a highly advanced civilization. The rights of the seas were not, in all cases, certainly determined or strictly observed. Algerine corsairs, Barbary pirates, Turkish galleys, were hovering about the coasts, on the look-out for an unwary merchantman; and many an Englishman had the undesirable oppor-

tunity of experiencing the trials of Moorish captivity. A singular story is told of the "worthy enterprise" of one John Fox, who was taken in 1563, with the ship "The Three Halfemoones," near the Straits of Gibraltar, by some Turkish galleys, carried into Alexandria, with the survivors of the fight, and there held in servitude for fourteen years. At last Fox, being "too weary of the gentle entreatance" of himself and his companions, of whom in the prison there were two hundred and sixty-eight, "of sixteen sundry nations," devised a plan of escape, which was happily accomplished. On New Year's night, 1577, having, in connivance with a captive outside, sent away the keeper of the road upon a fictitious errand, John Fox, as leader of the attempt, "tooke him to an olde rustie swordblade, without either hilt or pomell, which he made to serve his turne, in bending the hand ende of the sword, in steed of a pomell," and, with a few trusty associates, armed with such spits and glaives as they found in the house, awaited the keeper's return. "The keeper, now being come into the house, and perceiving no light, nor hearing any noyse, straightway suspected the matter; and returning backward, John Fox, standing behind the corner of the house, stepped foorth unto him; who, perceiving it to be John Fox, saide, 'O Fox, what have I deserved of thee, that thou shouldst seeke my death?' 'Thou villaine' (quoth Fox) 'hast bene a blood sucker of many a Christian's blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserved at my handes'; wherewith, he lift up his bright shining sword of tenne yeeres rust, and stroke him so maine a blow, as therewithall his head clave asunder, so that he fell starke dead to the ground." It was an easy matter for the little band to surprise and put to death the remaining guards, to possess themselves of the prison keys, and to liberate the other prisoners, who were on the watch for their arrival. Then, fighting their way to the harbor, with the loss of two of their number, they took and fitted a galley with all speed, and, a favoring breeze springing up, they sailed away, by God's grace, escaping from their enemies. After drifting about for twenty-eight days, they made the port of Gallipoli, in the Isle of Candia, and were hospitably received by the monks of the convent there. The

monks took "the sworde, wherewith John Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it a most precious jewell, and hung it up for a monument" of the deliverance of two hundred and sixty-six Christians from the hands of the infidels.

But it was not from infidels alone that the English merchants had cause to fear attacks. There were freebooters on the northern, as well as on the southern, shores of the Mediterranean. There were Spanish galleys, which it was somewhat dangerous to meet. The jealousy of Spain in regard to the growing commerce of her rival led to frequent outrages. When hostilities were fairly commenced between the two nations, an excellent opportunity for making reprisals upon the rich trade of the Levant was offered, and readily embraced. The merchantmen were compelled to take arms with the peaceful implements of commerce. Their precautions for defence were found to be not wholly superfluous. On the 13th of July, the Merchant Royal and the Toby, with three small consorts, bound from Zante to England with full and valuable cargoes, were attacked off Pantellaria by eleven Spanish galleys and two tenders, then called frigates. For five hours the desperate fight continued, when the Spaniards, having received "a sour welcome," hauled off in a crippled and sinking condition, and, as was supposed, having suffered great slaughter. The loss on the side of the English was only of two men slain, and another wounded in the arm, whom the captain, "Master Wilkinson, with his good words and friendly promises, did so comfort, that he nothing esteemed the mark of his wound, in respect of the honor of the victory and the shameful repulse of the enemy." On the 24th of April, 1590, ten merchant-ships of London, on their homeward voyage from the Levant, were met and attacked by twelve Spanish galleys, which, after a terrible conflict of six hours, were beaten off. The English fleet, though becalmed for several days in the Straits of Gibraltar, was not again troubled, so completely had the galleys lying there been shattered in the conflict. The most valiant fight on record, against the galleys in the Straits, is that of the Centurion, manned by a crew of forty-eight men and boys, with five galleys, on Easter Day, 1591. The galleys had on board

two hundred soldiers each, and lay "two on one side, and two on the other, and the Admirall full in the sterne." "In which sore and deadly fight" — continuing five hours and a half — "many a Spaniard was turned into the sea, and they, in multitudes, came crawling and hung upon the side of the shippe, intending to have entered into the same; but such was the courage of the English men, that so fast as the Spaniards did come to enter, they gave them such entertainment, that some of them were glad to tumble alive into the sea, being remedilesse for ever to get up alive." In this action the Centurion lost four men killed and ten wounded. Having beaten off the Spaniards, she pursued her voyage, and not long afterward safely arrived in London.

If peaceful Englishmen in the merchant service could exhibit such proofs of courage and valor, what might be expected from those trained to arms, and seeking conflict? Mr. Kingsley gives a highly graphic and vivid description of a sea-fight, between the good ship Rose (in which Amyas Leigh and the young men of Devon were seeking their fickle mistress, Rose Salterne) and a Spanish cruiser, assisted by two galleys, off the harbor of La Guayra. Of course the Spaniards were beaten, and their vessels sunk. Mr. Kingsley, in showing the superiority of the English, mentions with considerable pride the fact, that, "in the whole Spanish war, but one Queen's ship, the Revenge, and but one private man-of-war, Sir Richard Hawkins's Dainty, had ever struck their colors to the enemy." We are not fully confident of the entire truth of this statement. It may be, that the English did not strike their colors, but in several instances they were worsted, and compelled to flee. Their ships, too, were sometimes abandoned or sunk. Yet it must be confessed that the English were, in a great majority of cases, victors in the naval actions of the time, and fully gained the supremacy of the seas, not to be deprived of it till the very "fruit of their own loins" taught them that they were not invincible. Even in the case of inferiority of numbers and armament, they did not hesitate to join battle, and not without great success. One or two of their vessels would engage whole fleets, and do them "incredible damage." The West Indian

seas, and the neighborhood of the African islands, were the scenes of the bravest intrepidity, and the stoutest valor, on the part of the "fierce islanders." Even when they failed, it was only because of the utter impossibility of success.

Two of the most desperate battles in the annals of naval warfare are recorded among the memorials of this Spanish war. The Content, owned by Sir George Cary, and commanded by Master Nicholas Lisle, with two consorts, the Hopewell and Swallow, was attacked by three Spanish men-of-war and two galleys off Cape Corrientes, on the morning of the 13th of June, 1591. Her consorts left her to sustain the shock of battle alone. Her heaviest gun was a nine-pounder, and she had, for a great part of the time, but thirteen men fit for action. The Spanish ships were of six and seven hundred tons burden, armed and manned accordingly. Against these fearful odds, the Content (her crew having sung the first part of the twenty-fifth Psalm, and commended themselves and their estate into the hands of God) sustained a contest for sixteen long and weary hours, from 7 o'clock A. M. till 11 o'clock P. M. The darkness of the night alone closed the unequal conflict. And then, with the loss of only two men wounded, but crippled in her spars and rigging, and with her "sides sowed thick with musket-bullets," the gallantly fought vessel made her escape, — her battered condition the best token of the bravery of her heroic defenders.

The most memorable battle of those times was that in which the Revenge, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, was engaged with a whole Spanish fleet off the Azores Islands. On the last day of August, 1591, Lord Thomas Howard's fleet, of which Grenville was Vice-Admiral, was riding at anchor near Flores, when a fleet of Spanish vessels hove in sight, and bore up for the anchorage. The English ships immediately got under way, and went to sea. Howard, being weak both in arms and men, ninety being on the sick list on board the Revenge alone, thought it best to avoid an action. All the vessels, with the exception of Grenville's, succeeded in getting to windward. Sir Richard, scorning to yield even to a vastly superior force, resolved to make his

way directly through the enemy's fleet. He had partly attained his object, when the St. Philip, a huge ship of fifteen hundred tons, came down upon his weather bow, and, running alongside, took the wind out of his sails, and effectually becalmed him. Other vessels immediately closed around the devoted English ship, two on her larboard, and two on her starboard side. Sir Richard, nothing daunted, immediately poured in his broadsides. The St. Philip, receiving the lower tier of the Revenge, "discharged with crosse-bar shot, shifted herselfe with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment." The fight, beginning at three o'clock in the afternoon, continued very terrible all that evening. The Spaniards, whose ships were filled with soldiers, (some of them having not less than eight hundred men,) attempted several times to board the Revenge, but were in every instance beaten back. The battle continued into the night. Two Spanish ships were sunk, and on board the others great slaughter was made. Many of the English crew were slain and hurt. A little before midnight, Sir Richard himself was struck down with wounds in the body and head. Still the combat did not slacken. There was no thought of surrender. Fifteen different vessels engaged the Revenge, and "all so ill approved their entertainment, as they were by the breake of day far more willing to harken to a composition, then hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day encreased, so our men decreased, and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grewe our discomforts." The sun rose upon a sad scene. The Spanish ships, fifty-three in number, were formed in a circle round the poor Revenge, which lay disabled in the centre. All her powder to the last barrel was spent, all her pikes were broken, forty of the hundred sound men with whom she entered into action were slain, most of the remainder wounded, and ninety sick in the hold; the masts were all beaten overboard, the ship's tackle all cut asunder, her upper works altogether shattered, and she lay almost even with the water's edge, unable to move, but as she moved with the waves and billows of the sea. For fifteen hours she had borne the fight. Still her stout-hearted commander would

not hear of striking his flag. He gave orders to the gunner to "split and sinke the shippe." Willingly would the gunner have obeyed, had not the acting master and the ship's company prevented him. The commander, resolute man, would have slain himself with his sword, had he not been taken by force and locked into his cabin. The gallant vessel was then surrendered by the mutinous master. Sir Richard was taken on board the Spanish Admiral's vessel. As he was lifted over the side of the Revenge, he swooned, and, "reviving again, asked the company to pray for him." So badly was he wounded that he died a day or two afterward, on board the enemy's ship, valiant to the last. His last words were: "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, Queen, religion, and honor; my soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is in his duty bound to do." The Revenge did not long outlive her brave commander. She was driven ashore, with a large part of the Spanish fleet, by a furious storm, which took place a few days after.

Sir Richard Grenville's character is admirably depicted by Mr. Kingsley. Our limits will not allow of quotation, and we refer the reader to the book itself, particularly to the conversation with Amyas and Salvation Yeo, related in the seventh chapter. His heroism is unquestionable, and it was heroism of the highest sort, for with it was conjoined a gentle and a godly spirit. In this very conflict his generosity was manifest. "In the beginning of the fight the George Noble, of London, fell under the lee of the Revenge, and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victuallers and of small force; Sir Richard bade him save himself, and leave him to his fortune."

In estimating the courage of the English seamen of those days, the size of the vessels in which their voyages were made is to be taken into account. Cavendish's largest ship in his voyage round the globe was but of one hundred and twenty tons. Davis's vessel, on his first voyage to the Arctic Seas, measured but fifty tons, and Frobisher's but twenty-five. Sir

Humphrey Gilbert was not afraid to trust himself, for an Atlantic voyage from Newfoundland to England, in a shallop of ten tons. Jaques Cartier made the discovery of the Gulf of St. Lawrence with two ships of sixty tons each. The largest vessels, even men-of-war, could seldom have exceeded five hundred tons. Sir John Burrough, in 1592, captured a large Spanish vessel, the Madre de Dios, which was called "a high and mightie carak," and which was said to have been "farre beyond the mould of the biggest shipping used among us either for warre or receit." The measure of this "carak" is given at 1,600 tons, and her dimensions were as follows: length from beak-head to stern, 165 feet; breadth in widest part, 46 feet 10 inches; draught when loaded, 31 feet; length of keel, 100 feet; length of mainmast, 121 feet, and of main-yard, 105 feet. She had "seven severall stories, one maine orlop, three close decks, one forecastle, and a spar decke of two floores apiece." Compare with these vessels the huge men-of-war and merchant-vessels which now are the pride of both the English and American marine service,* and we get some conception of the smallness of the vessels in which in those earlier times English sailors dared the dangers of the sea.

Mr. Kingsley, in the character of his hero, is evidently aiming to show his estimate of the English seaman of that day. Bold, frank, generous, accustomed to hardship, willingly enduring privations, deeply attached to his sovereign and his religion, and withal hating the Spaniard with his whole heart and soul and strength, from the beginning of his life he was accustomed to look upon the sea as the element on which the power of his nation was to be supreme. But then Hispaniola, not Britannia, ruled the waves. The English seaman seemed to have an instinctive feeling that it was his destiny to break the Spanish power, and whatever else disputed his right to traverse all the seas of the globe. And so he was but follow-

* The steam-frigate Niagara, lately built at New York, measures as follows: tonnage, 5,200; extreme length on deck, 345 feet; load line, 323; extreme breadth, 55 feet; depth of hold, 31 feet. There are three decks beside the orlop. The length of her mainmast is 111 feet, with a diameter of 3 feet 4 inches; length of main-yard, 135 feet; of mizzen spanker-boom, 67 feet.

ing his star when he went to the Spanish Main and into the South Seas, grappled with his enemy in his own harbors and along his own coasts, fought him till death, plundered, burned, and sunk his vessels, and returned home in triumph to share his booty with his Queen. The Spaniard, too, was a Catholic, the Englishman a Protestant, and religious prejudices mingled with and increased national hostility. The Englishman was a freeman, and, with the accustomed generosity of the Saxon, took upon himself the championship of the oppressed. Those oppressed ones were then the American natives. And there is no doubt that they were made to suffer unexampled tortures at the hands of their inhuman conquerors. The Spaniard was to the inoffensive Indians like the incarnation of their Evil Spirit. The histories of the time are full of the atrocities committed by the invaders of the New World. We do not feel that Mr. Kingsley exaggerates the case in his story of the passage of the gold train from Santa Fé to the Magdalena. Hakluyt has many a tale of blood in his compilations, and though it is an Englishman that is writing about the tyranny of his natural-born foe, yet we cannot but think that it is a true story which he tells. It cannot be denied that the Indians were the victims of the Spaniard's lust, cupidity, and cruelty. Rather than fall into the hands of those who sought their treasure and their lives, they willingly perished by their own hands. Lopez Vaz, in his description of the new countries and their inhabitants, tells the following story, and, though he meant it for a jest, there is a sad moral in it. "It happened on a time, that a Spaniard, calling certaine Indians to work in his mines, (which labor of all others does most grieve them,) they, rather than they would goe, offered to lay violent hands on themselves, which the Spaniard perceiving, sayd unto them, 'Seeing you will hang yourselves rather than goe and worke, I likewise will hang myselfe, and will bear you companie, because I will make you worke in another worlde.' But the Indians, hearing this, replied, 'We will willingly worke with you here, to the intente you may not goe with us into another worlde,' so unwilling were they of the Spaniard's companie." The chronicles of those early days contain numerous instances of suicide committed by the Indians, rather

than undergo the exactions of their masters. They would eat the leaves of their poisonous trees and plants, they would burn themselves in their dwellings, they would anticipate the cruelties of their foes by self-inflicted torture. "Liberty or death" is a motto worthy to be pronounced by a freeman's lips; its spirit was alive in the ancient Indian's heart.

All these facts are to be taken into account in making up our judgment respecting the character of those bold English sailors, who openly avowed themselves the enemies of the Spaniards and the avengers of the Indian's wrongs. It is true that, in their excursions to the American coasts, they were often influenced by the desire to possess themselves of a portion of the inexhaustible treasures of which the Spaniards were then the masters. But the English adventurers had other aims besides that of acquiring wealth. It was by means of American gold that Spain had risen so rapidly to eminence. It was by means of gold that England must gain her position. And there was no other way but to dispossess the present owners of the riches which England needed. Gold must be had, by fair means if possible, if not so, then by foul means. The Spaniards had wrested it from the rightful owners; the English must plunder them in turn. They were willing to trade, but the Spaniards refused. There was no way but to use force. We do not attempt to excuse them, we only state the patent fact. Thus Francis Drake, in 1572, though Spain and England were then nominally at peace, goes to Nombre de Dios and Darien with his two ships and a pinnace, plunders the towns, takes treasure and comes home again, having seen the South Sea, and resolved to sail on it for future conquests. John Oxenham, in 1575, takes the same route, hides his ship, buries his ordnance, travels across the Isthmus, fairly enters the South Sea, captures two vessels, with 160,000 pezos of gold, and starts on his return. The Spaniards follow, trace up the river on whose banks his party is encamped, by means of feathers, from a fowl which his men had plucked, floating down the stream, and capture him and his companions. Drake, in 1577, commences his famous voyage around the world, and returns after three years with a treasure of 1,039,200 ducats of silver, 150,000 ducats of gold, and pearls, plate, and pre-

cious stones, all valued at £ 800,000. In 1585, Drake, with a fleet of twenty-five ships and two thousand three hundred men — this time engaged in legitimate hostilities — descends again upon the Spanish Main, and sacks St. Domingo, Carthagena, and other towns, captures St. Augustine in Florida, for all these demanding heavy ransom, and ends by bringing home Raleigh's colony from Roanoke, doing all this in less than one year. Thomas Cavendish, in 1586, follows Drake around the world, enriching himself by the way at the expense of the Spaniards. Christopher Newport, in 1591, goes to the West Indies, takes and burns "three towns and nineteen sailes." James Lancaster, in 1594–95, with Master Venner's fleet, plunders Pernambuco, loading fifteen vessels with the spoil. Robert Dudley, at the same time, is engaged in destroying the towns to the northward, and in 1595 Amyas Preston makes an expedition along the coast, to render it certain that nothing has been left undone by his predecessors. Sundry others are active there and elsewhere in harassing the Spaniards, destroying and plundering their ships and towns. By these and other means, the English acquired the reputation of being "the fiercest nation on the earth."

There is, and has been, a question in the minds of many, whether these men were really brave and gallant seamen, or only piratical adventurers. Lingard does not hesitate to say, that among these adventurers "were many who, at a distance from home, and freed from the restraint of law, indulged in the most brutal excesses; whose rapacity despised the rights of nations, and the claims of humanity; and whom, while we admire their skill, and hardihood, and perseverance, our more sober judgment must pronounce no better than public robbers and assassins." To this class, in his estimation, belong Hawkins and Drake. Had the learned historian been writing of the deeds and character of the Spanish adventurers, and the conquerors of the New World, nothing could more nearly express the truth. But we think the facts do not bear him out in his statement respecting the English seamen. He refers to Hakluyt *passim*. But the examination of his authority by no means confirms his statement;

and the singular mistakes which he makes in relation to the names of Drake's vessels, and in other particulars, lead us to think that in this instance his usual correctness and impartiality were subordinate to his religious bias. Indeed, his whole account of the reign of Elizabeth is somewhat tinctured with the bitterness of a partisan.

In regard to Hawkins we have already expressed our opinion. His traffic was an inhuman and rapacious one, and Drake's implication in it is by no means creditable to him. Yet the sweeping charges made against the whole body of English adventurers, or a great part of them, are in many respects false. The sailors were, in general, remarkably continent. Raleigh, Davis, the chronicler of Drake's voyages, and other writers, bear unquestioned witness to this fact. They were oftentimes generous, even magnanimous, to a conquered foe. They were certainly no more rapacious than those against whom they fought; and the term "public robbers and assassins" cannot be applied to them with truth. It must be remembered, that national rights were still *sub judice.* Rival nations were hostile to one another. The English thought that they had abundant provocation for what they did; and it is hardly to be doubted, that, if they robbed the Spaniards, they at least did no more than the Spaniards would have done to them if they had had the opportunity and the ability. Spain was the champion of Rome, now grown desperate at the prospect of losing her power. The manner in which the French Protestants in Florida were murdered, — "not as Frenchmen, but as heretics," — is ample evidence of what deeds Spain was then capable. England was the champion of Protestantism, and was a refuge for the lovers of freedom. And so the Englishman, in sallying out with his vessel against the insolent Spaniard, was engaged in what to him seemed a religious duty, and an enterprise to which he was called by the claims of humanity itself. In this view there is something grand and noble in the position which he took, and there certainly can be no question that there was high heroism in the manner in which he maintained it.

Still we are not euphuists. We are desirous of calling things and men by their right names. We do not wish to

cover these deeds by the flimsy disguises which served, a century later, to cloak the doings of the Buccaneers, or by those which in our time would attempt to conceal the crime of the Fillibusters. But we are not yet ready to consider Drake and his companions as pirates, "public robbers, and assassins." There was manifested among them many a trait of manly character which pirates do not usually exhibit. Almost every expedition had its chaplain, and prayers were read twice each day, at which the whole ship's company was in attendance. This we do not deem conclusive evidence of their piety or their godliness, for worse men than they have had chaplains to pray for them, and have been regular attendants upon divine service. But there is another fact, which bears upon the same side of this question with greater force. Profanity was forbidden by strict regulation upon many of these voyages. In reading the narratives, too, of the various adventurers, we have been struck with the evident sincerity and manly quality of the religion of these men in fighting and spoiling the Spaniards above all things else. All their escapes were attributed to God's deliverance, all their victories to God's help. If they were hypocritical in these matters, their hypocrisy was so open as to lose its character of falsehood.

It must be confessed, that Drake was a bold and reckless man. If he wanted a pilot, he went into a harbor, and took one, will he, nill he, and, after having made him serve his purpose, left him perhaps on the other side of the world. His very name was a terror to the Spaniards. They never felt safe, if by any possibility they thought he could come near them. He indeed died miserably at the last. Yet his life was better than his death. There is a story extant, in regard to one of his transactions, which, though it may be familiar to some of our readers, is worth a repetition here. In the early part of his voyage round the world, while on the southeastern coast of South America, Master Thomas Doughtie, one of his subordinates, and an intimate friend, was found to cherish some mutinous feelings, and to have in contemplation some mutinous designs. At Port St. Julian, on the Patagonian coast, the case was investigated by an assembly composed of the principal men of the expedition.

Doughtie was convicted, and sentenced to be executed. What follows is taken from the account of the voyage in Hakluyt's fourth volume. "He, seeing no remedie but patience for himselfe, desired before his death to receive the Communion, which he did by the hands of Master Fletcher, our minister, and our Generall himselfe accompanied him in that holy action; which being done, and the place of execution made ready, he, having embraced our Generall and taken his leave of all the companie, with prayer for the Queen's majestie and our realm, in quiet sort laid his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made divers speeches to the whole companie, persuading us to unitie, obedience, love, and regard for our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof willed every man, the next Sunday following, to prepare himselfe to receive the Communion as Christian brethren and friends ought to do, which was done in very reverent sort, and so with good contentment every man went about his businesse." We apprehend that this was not a very piratical way of attending to such matters. We are not at all unmindful of the fact, that Drake had an eye to his personal profit in many of his acts, but it was very rarely so, except in cases where the Spaniards could be made to suffer. In the defeat of the great Armada, in 1588, he stopped to plunder a ship which he had taken. Yet he is known to have spent a portion of his gains upon works of public benefit. Among his men he was generous, and even liberal. He recognized them as fellow-adventurers, and did not scorn to take hold of their work with his own hands when the occasion demanded his help. He was a brave, intrepid, and skilful seaman, and his exploits contributed greatly to the renown of English history. We will not commend his faults, but we must do justice to his virtues.

In regard to the Spanish war itself and its consequences, we do not think that Mr. Kingsley overstates the case. It was not merely a contest for the rule of the seas. The liberties of Europe were involved in the issue of the struggle. It was Spain or England, Catholic or Protestant, that was to wield the sceptre and guide the course of subsequent history. We must acknowledge that the progress of humanity could far

more safely be left in the hands of England than in those of Spain, and we rejoice, in behalf of the civilization of the world, that the victory was on the side of English valor. Whatever may be our opinions respecting the evils of war, — and we adhere firmly to the *prima facie* Christian view of the whole subject, — it must be confessed that there have been battles on which depended the interests of mankind, battles which have decided the character of collective humanity. To this list we are willing to think belongs the ever-memorable engagement in the English Channel, which resulted in the complete discomfiture of the great Armada of Spain, in July, 1588. One of the best chapters of Mr. Kingsley's book is that in which he gives a description of this great sea-fight. Our space will not allow an attempt to furnish an account of this famous action, even had we the ability to do the subject justice. "It is," as our author observes, "a twelve days' epic, worthy not of dull prose, but of the thunder-roll of Homer's verse." The coins struck by the Zealanders, as grandly as briefly, told the whole story, — "which on the one side contained the arms of Zealand, with this inscription: 'Glory to God onely'; and on the other side the pictures of certain great shippes, with these words: 'The Spanish Fleet'; and in the circumference about the ships: 'It came, it went, it was, Anno 1588.'" * "And now," says Mr. Kingsley, in his enthusiastic contemplation of the victory, "from England and the Netherlands, from Germany and Geneva, and those poor Vaudois shepherd-saints, whose bones for generations past

'Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold';

from all of Europe, from all of mankind, I had almost said, in which lay the seed of future virtue and greatness, of the destinies of the new-discovered world, and the triumphs of the coming age of science, arose a shout of holy joy, such as the world had not heard for many a weary and bloody century; a shout which was the prophetic birth-pæan of North America,

* We notice that Mr. Kingsley mentions the inscription as being, "It came, it saw, it fled." In a late article in the *North British Review*, which bears internal evidence of having been written by Mr. K., the inscription is given, "*Venit, vidit, fugit.*"

Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific Islands, of free commerce and free colonization over the whole earth."

It is time that we should turn from the contemplation of stories of battle and blood, to the narrative of more peaceful adventure. The early attempts to colonize the North American shores demand from us a notice. The New World was all an untried field of enterprise. The success of the Spaniards at the South encouraged the English to hope for like success at the North. It was a world containing uncounted treasure. And to the imagination of the English adventurer, Newfoundland and Virginia promised as rich returns as Mexico, Peru, and Cundinamarca. Another field of action was open, and there were not wanting those who were ready to occupy it. What, doubtless, conduced to much of the enterprise in that direction was the possibility of finding a northwest passage to India, which should be free from the molestation of the Spaniards.

As early as the year 1527, a voyage was said to have been made by two English vessels to the coast of North America, in the neighborhood of Newfoundland.* But nothing definite is known respecting this expedition. In 1534, however, Jaques Cartier was the commander of an expedition, undertaken with the patronage of the king of France, and proceeded in safety to Newfoundland, entered the gulf and river of St. Lawrence and the bay of Chaleur, and, after touching at several islands in the gulf, returned home, arriving at St. Malo on the 5th of September. Cartier made two more voyages thither in 1535 and 1540. In 1542, Sir J. F. de la Roche was appointed Lieutenant-General of Canada, went to Saguenay, and built a "fayre fort," remaining in the country through the following winter. In the year 1536, "one Master Hore, of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage," fitted out an expedition, consisting of two ships and one hundred and twenty men, and, "after the receiving of the Sacrament," sailed to Newfoundland. It was his purpose to found a colony upon this island. But soon after his arrival the pro-

* Gaspar and Michael Cortereal are supposed to have been lost on the northern coast of North America in the year 1500.

visions of his party failed, and had it not been for the opportune advent of a French ship, the colony would doubtless have perished. As it was, the only feasible way of escape for the English seemed to be the capture of the French vessel. They accordingly took it into their possession, and returned to England. It is but fair to say that Henry VIII. reimbursed the Frenchmen, who had suffered from this outrage, for the loss of their provisions and vessel. From this time till the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, English vessels were engaged at different times in the fisheries on the Newfoundland Banks. At the close of the reign of Elizabeth, "two hundred sail and upwards of fishing vessels, and on board of them upwards of eight thousand seamen," were employed in this profitable branch of industry. It was found to serve, as at a later day, and with our own countrymen, as an admirable nursery of able mariners.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, more of a philosopher than a general, in Mr. Kingsley's opinion, having, in 1578, obtained from her Majesty letters patent to settle some portion of America, made the necessary preparations for an expedition to Newfoundland, which was the point agreed upon for the first landing. A large number of men and vessels were speedily collected; but, as they were just on the point of sailing, divisions broke out and the project was in part abandoned. Gilbert himself went to sea with a few companions, but was soon forced to return by stress of weather. Another voyage which he planned was equally unsuccessful. Nowise disheartened, Gilbert, assisted by his brother Adrian and other friends, made a third trial. This time he succeeded in enlisting the services of two hundred and sixty men, who, with five vessels and an abundance of provisions, departed from Cawsand Bay on the 11th of June, 1583. The expedition (with the exception of the Vice-Admiral, who basely deserted, with his bark, the Raleigh, a few days after leaving port) came in sight of land, July 30, and on the 3d of August anchored in the harbor of St. John's. Here Sir Humphrey formally took possession of the place, and "two hundred leagues every way," in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and "had delivered unto him a rod and a turffe of the same soile, entring possession also for him, his

heires and assignes for ever." The island was explored, and found to be not only habitable, but also to "minister commodities abundantly for art and industrie." Everything at first looked promising, but Gilbert's ill fortune seemed to have followed him across the sea. His men were mutinous, and deserted him daily; one of his ships, the Swallow, was abandoned for want of a crew, and her commander transferred to the largest ship, the Delight, whose captain had returned to England in one of the vessels on the coast; and a general depression weighed down the spirits of the little party. Gilbert himself went on board the Squirrel, of only ten tons' burden, whose captain also had gone back. While coasting southward, the Delight was wrecked in a severe gale, and nearly all on board perished. Twelve alone, out of a crew of a hundred men, escaped by means of the ship's boat. At last, the people losing courage daily, after this ill success, "the weather continuing thicke and blustering, with increase of cold, and winter drawing on," though it was yet but the last of summer, the resolution was taken to return to England, and on the 31st of August the course was laid for home. And now occurred a wonderful event. Between the Golden Hind (the only large vessel left) and the land was seen "a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair, and color, not swimming after the manner of a beast, by mooving of his feete, but rather sliding with his whole body. Thus he passed along, turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth and glaring eies, and to bidde us a farewell, he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbeare to deliver; but he tooke it for Bonum Omen, rejoycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the devill." And so the little frigate Squirrel, with the Golden Hind in her wake, bowled merrily along for England, not, however, without some rough weather and dangerous seas. Three hundred leagues had been passed on the way, when one fair morning in September, "the Generall came aboard the Hind, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Master, and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning untill night." Much

pleasant conversation ensued, and Gilbert, hopeful of success in another voyage which he contemplated for the following spring, prepared to return on board the Squirrel. The company of the Hind vehemently protested against his intention. "But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Master, and other his well willers of the Hind, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answere: 'I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils.' And so we committed him to God's protection, and set him aboord his Pinesse." On again with the voyage, till now there came more "foule weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high, pyramid wise." Never had men seen "more outragious seas." Also, "we had upon our main yarde an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux." Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage is well-nigh over; it is not England, but, we trust, a more peaceful haven, to which he is bound, where all his cares will be at an end, and mutinous men and false captains will trouble him no more.

"Munday, the 9th of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered: and, giving foorth signes of joy, the Generall sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out unto us in the Hind (so oft as we did approach within hearing), 'We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land,' reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a souldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testifie he was. The same Munday night, about twelve of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of us in the Golden Hind, suddenly her lights went out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigat was devoured and swallowed up of the sea. Yet still we looked out all that night and ever after, untill we arrived upon the coast of England."

And so died one of those worthies whom it behoves both England and America never to forget. And so went home alone the Golden Hind, "in great torment of weather and perill of drowning," and arrived at Falmouth on the 22d of

September. We will not mar the account of this voyage by any comment. Of Gilbert himself, it suffices us to say, that his life was manly, and his death heroic. "As he was refined, and made neerer drawing unto the image of God, so it pleased the Divine will to resume him unto himselfe, whither both his, and every other high and noble minde, have alwayes aspired."

Gilbert's misfortunes did not deter others from following up the enterprise which he had begun. Other voyages were made to Newfoundland and its adjacent parts. George Drake and Richard Strong were in that neighborhood in 1593; Sylvester Wyet in 1594; and Charles Leigh in 1597, — all excellent shipmasters doubtless, and good Englishmen, of whom, however, few memorials remain. The first permanent settlement was made in 1623 by Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore.

Closely connected with this attempt of Gilbert to colonize Newfoundland was Sir Walter Raleigh's enterprise on a more southerly coast. Having procured letters patent from Elizabeth in the year 1584, "to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him shall seem good," Raleigh fitted out an expedition for America in the spring of the same year. Two ships, commanded by Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, sailed from England on the 27th day of April, arrived on the coast of Florida, July 4th, sailed one hundred and twenty miles northward, and on the 13th of the month landed, and took possession of the country, "in the right of the Queen's most excellent Majestie." These vessels remained on the coast several weeks; an exploration of the neighboring country was made; the natives were found to be hospitable and generous, though, if need were, warlike, and the soil "the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull, and wholsome of all the worlde." The main object of the expedition having thus been happily accomplished, the officers judged it best to return to England, which they "accordingly did, and arrived safely in the West of England, about the middest of September." Such glowing accounts were brought home by these

voyagers, that Elizabeth, naming the newly discovered country Virginia, permitted Raleigh to give further attention to the enterprise, promising him the royal assistance, if necessary, for the colonization of the territory. Raleigh was not indisposed to embrace the opportunity, and immediately made the necessary preparations for sending out a colony. On the 8th of April, 1585, a fleet of seven ships with one hundred and eight men on board, to constitute the first English colony in America, set sail from Plymouth under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. After touching at Porto Rico and Hispaniola, the fleet arrived on the Virginia coast, on the 26th of June. Having put on shore the men who had been brought out for the settlement, and furnished them with the necessary supplies, Sir Richard sailed for England, August 25th, and arrived at Plymouth, October 18th, with a Spanish prize which he had captured on the way home. The colony, under the government of Ralph Lane, remained at Roanoke nearly a year. At the end of that time, having found the Indians hostile and provisions scarce, being withal disappointed in their expectation of supplies from England, Mr. Lane and his company took passage with Sir Francis Drake, whose fleet had now come upon the coast, and sailed for England, where they arrived July 27th, 1586. Scarcely had they departed, when a ship sent by Raleigh for their relief reached the settlement. After a diligent, but of course fruitless, search for the missing colonists, the party returned to England with all the supplies. A fortnight later, and Grenville arrived at Roanoke, with three vessels and an abundance of necessaries. He, too, made an unsuccessful exploration of the neighborhood, and then set sail for home, first leaving fifteen men, provisioned for two years, to retain possession of the territory. Such a handful of men, however, could by no means secure themselves against attack, and when the next colony came out, in 1587, no vestige of them was to be found except the bones of one man, who was supposed to have been killed by the savages. The second colony, under the government of John White, consisting of one hundred and fifty persons, arrived at the place of settlement, July 22d, 1587. At their earnest request, Governor White went

to England in August, for the purpose of procuring supplies, and the colony was left to sustain itself during his absence as best it could. That absence was longer than any one of the unfortunate adventurers could have anticipated; for, when White arrived in England, he found that colonies and foreign enterprises were secondary matters. The great Armada was certainly coming, and England needed first to defend herself at home. The struggle was hastening on, by which was to be decided, not alone the fate of present settlements in Virginia, but also, perhaps, the character of the future history of North America. The question with the Queen and her subjects now was, not whether the Virginia trade and colonization should prosper, but whether their own homes and firesides should be saved from pillage and destruction. The vessels of all loyal men must stay on England's own coasts, and help to drive away the foe which menaced them. So the colony at Roanoke must wait till England's safety is secured, to survive if it can, to perish if it must. The fleet which was in readiness to give relief was kept at home. Sad enough was it for the men and women, and that little babe, Virginia Dare, the first English child born on American soil, with other children too it may be, who thus, in the midst of hostile natives, looked out over the sea in vain for the sight of an English sail. For when (England safe once more), in August, 1590, White came to Roanoke with three good ships, and several Spanish prizes, he found no Englishman to welcome him, but only evident traces of the work of savages, who had broken up the settlement. And so Raleigh's project for colonizing Virginia must be abandoned. It was a grand scheme, not alone for the profits which it might one day have secured, but for the advantage which would have accrued to the state, by keeping the Spaniards within the limits of their own settlements, and retaining possession of the country for the benefit of the English crown. If in that crown America afterwards became the brightest jewel, the greatest credit is due to Raleigh for his attempts — though they were unsuccessful — to give it a durable setting. Raleigh, having spent a fortune upon this enterprise, made over his grants to a company of English merchants, whose subsequent doings are too familiar to need record here.

We cannot bring this paper to a close without a notice of that other great American enterprise in which Raleigh was so zealously and perseveringly engaged. We allude to his attempt at the discovery and conquest of Guiana. It is not difficult to understand why an adventure like this should have had such attractive charms for a person of Raleigh's ardent temperament, or should have appeared so advantageous to one of his sagacious statesmanship. The age was one of discovery, in which such wonders were brought to the knowledge of the Old World as to cease at length to be matters for astonishment. Cortez, Pizarro, and their successors, had stories to tell of Mexico and Peru which seemed almost beyond fable, yet which were gradually verified. Why might not the other story be true, that the remnant of the Peruvians, with their Inca, had fled into the interior of South America, and there, with countless treasure, awaited the time when a deliverer should appear to free them from the Spanish thraldom? Raleigh and his countrymen believed it; the Spaniards believed it. Nay, they could give the name of the very man who had visited this new empire of the Incas, had seen the most wonderful amount of gold and silver, and had returned in safety to the Spanish settlements. The story of El Dorado, fantastic as it now appears, was true to the men of that time. There was the name, to them standing for a veritable thing. There was the reason for it, given by Juan Martinez himself, who said he had beheld what he related. He had been carried by the Indians to Manoa, had seen the Inca, had even been entertained by that sovereign in the palace. And this is why the place was called El Dorado, according to the veracious Martinez: "Those Guianians, and also the borderers and all others in that part which I have seene, are marvellous great drunkards, in which vice, I think, no nation can compare with them, and at the time of the solemn feasts when the Emperour carouseth with his captains, tributaries, and governours, the manner is this: All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their bodies anointed all over with a kind of white balsamum, of which there is great plenty, and yet very dear amongst them. When they are anointed all over, certeine servants of the Emperour, having prepared

golde made into fine powder, blow it thorow hollow canes upon their naked bodies, untill they be all shining from the foot to the head, and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds, and continue in drunkenness, six or seven dayes together. Upon this sight, and for the abundance of gold he saw in the city, the images of gold in their temples, the plates, armour, and shields of gold which they use in the warres, he called it El Dorado." A strange story enough, we say, yet Mr. Prescott can tell us stranger ones, which have the additional merit of being true. Here, then, was a mighty empire in the heart of the tropical forests, about the head-waters of the Orinoco and the Amazon. If England could possess it, she would be far richer and more powerful than Spain. If she could go to these Indians as a protector from the cruelties of the Spaniards, she would be the foremost nation of the world in humanity and mercy. To find this empire, and to carry promise of protection, was Raleigh's scheme, which he tried to execute, not once only, but twice and thrice, and even oftener, and which at last proved the snare in which he lost his life, his eldest son and his best captain having previously laid down their lives in the enterprise.

But Raleigh was by no means the first who ventured upon this undertaking. The path had been travelled by weary and bloody feet. The golden phantom was the lure which had led many a brave man to his destruction. Many a captain, "with valiant comrades at his back, had vanished into the green gulfs of the primeval forests, never to emerge again." Tales of suffering and woe, sometimes of crime, are connected with all the names of that long list of adventurers who went to seek Manoa. Diego Ordas, slain in a mutiny; Orellana, for eight months sailing down the Maranon in a small brigantine, exposed to many dangers and fighting with Amazons; Juan Corteso, Pedro de Silva, Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, Alonzo de Herrara, killed, driven back, or lost in the wilderness; Antonio Sedenno, assaulted by tigers; Augustine Delgado, requiting the courtesy and kindness of the Indians by manifold wrongs; Pedro de Orsua, basely murdered, with his wife, by mutinous followers; — these are a few only of Raleigh's predecessors. A less courageous man would have quailed at the

prospect. Yet Raleigh made the attempt, all the more excited to it by the prospect of dangers in the way. The tale of his misfortunes is but another added to the catalogue of woes which mankind have suffered in the pursuit of gold.

> "Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
> Auri sacra fames!"

It is but due to Raleigh to say, that his desire for treasure was secondary to his love for England's glory and his regard for England's queen.

It is not our intention to give an account of Raleigh's voyages to Guiana, or of his proceedings while there. They better deserve a paper by themselves, and our narrowing limits warn us against an attempt to present them here. Suffice it to say, that he pursued this object with more constancy, perhaps, than any other of his adventurous life. His first voyage was made in 1595, his last in 1617. In the mean time he sent out several expeditions, all of which were unsuccessful. El Dorado was not reached, and the city of Manoa and the country of the Amazons remain undiscovered to this day. Poor Raleigh receives but little credit from the historians for his enterprise in this direction, and less for the narrative which he gives of his discoveries. Hume declares that his account of the country is "full of the grossest and most palpable lies that were ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of mankind." Lingard is scarcely less severe, making the remark, that his narrative "proves him to have been a master in the art of puffing." We do not indorse the truth of Raleigh's stories, but we do not believe that he attempted to palm off upon his countrymen what he himself knew to be falsehood. He simply told what he had heard from the Spaniards, from Berreo, and from the Indian caciques. And in an age when the most marvellous accounts of the New World were in circulation, — when the truth itself was almost incredible, — when this unexplored continent lay before the mind and imagination of Europe, and every fresh discovery excited that imagination more and more, — such stories as these of Raleigh are no more than were current, and received with full credit, at the time. If John Davis, with his good sense, could write a book to prove that the inhabitants of the North Pole occu-

pied the place of greatest dignity on the globe, and, if they were only converted to Christianity, would be the happiest, because the most favored, people in the world, Sir Walter Raleigh, with his vivid fancy, could be pardoned for statements, which, if fictitious, were not so strange as many which were known to be true. Then, too, it cannot be proved that there is no El Dorado in the interior of South America. It is not at all improbable that a portion of the Peruvians fled thither from the rapacity of the Spaniards. It is certainly true that there is gold in abundance in that territory. And it may be that some American Layard will yet lay bare, in the depth of Amazonian forests, a buried empire. When we remember, also, that Indian women might have become desperate, and, flying from Spanish lust, have changed their gentle nature for rough and warlike habits, the story of the Amazons may not appear to us altogether improbable. If the reports of African travellers are correct, women can be trained to rival the hardier sex in valor and fierceness. But, true or false, Raleigh's "Discoverie of Guiana" still stands, a narrative of charming description, of delightful freshness, and of unsurpassed interest.

Westward Ho! Elizabeth, her merchants, her courtiers, her warriors, have long since passed away; but the spirit which animated them lives in their descendants. The West is still the land of promise, of hope, of enterprise and adventure. Ever towards the setting sun the nations look, and take their way, as though the golden clouds he leaves behind him were the tokens of substantial treasures on which his rays yet fall. It was not for the men of that glorious time to give the New World its impulse towards civilized life. Those who sought gold, even though it might have been for England's greater glory, were not the men to found a state, whose work it was to carry forward providential plans for the welfare of all the human race. The Spanish colonies have become insignificant nations; Guiana is an inconsiderable province of Great Britain. It was reserved for those who left their country in obedience to convictions of duty, — duty to God and Humanity, — to lay the foundations of the new England upon the western continent. That other England, now an empire

richer than El Dorado itself, mightier than Spain in her most powerful days, contesting with the old and parent England the peaceful supremacy of land and sea, — what a glorious destiny awaits her fidelity to God, her own history, and the interests of mankind! Not by tyranny over the weak, not by insane thirst for gold, but by justice and generosity, by patient industry and steadfast righteousness, shall a great state grow up into its full proportions, and "Westward Ho!" shall be to all the nations of the earth the watchword of freedom, of civilization, and of progress.

ART. II. — 1. *Œuvres Complètes de* VICTOR HUGO. Paris. 1843. 2 vols. 8vo.
2. *Napoléon le Petit.* New York. 1852.
3. *Œuvres Oratoires de* VICTOR HUGO. Genève. 1853. 2 vols.
4. *Châtiments.* Par VICTOR HUGO. Genève. 1853.

ON the western coast of France lies a group of islands, lifting their rocky cliffs above the sea, and washed on all sides by the Atlantic. The three principal members of this group, known as the "Channel Islands," are Alderney, Guernsey, and Jersey. These islands, though seeming to belong, by geographical position, to France, being but twelve or fifteen miles from the coast of La Manche, and nearly a hundred from the nearest British port, are politically a part of the territories of the British crown. The remains of Roman forts, and the discovery of coins of the Emperors, prove them to have once been military stations. In the ninth century they were invaded by the Normans, and under William the Conqueror they became a part of the Norman demesnes of England. Notwithstanding repeated attempts on the part of France to recover possession of them, they have ever since continued an integral portion of that vast empire, whose conquests by sea and land almost justify the metaphor, that the sun never sets upon her flag.